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THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

To write the history of one of our leading Highland clans is a more arduous task than most readers of the *Celtic Magazine* are likely to realise, but the reception accorded to the histories of the Mackenzies, of the Macdonalds, and of the Camerons, written and published by us during the last six years, and the valuable aid extended to us by members of these families, and by those possessing information concerning the clans whose histories have already appeared, have emboldened us to begin a history of the ancient family of Macleod, in the full expectation and confidence that similar aid will be extended to us in our present task. We would, however, call attention to the fact that in a few instances, parties interested have not supplied us, until it was too late, with genealogical and other interesting family information which it was impossible to obtain from other sources, and it may be well to warn those interested in the history and genealogies of the Clan Macleod and its connexions against similar oversight, so that they may not, when the work is completed, have to complain, as some Mackenzies, Macdonalds, and Camerons have done, that their names or families have been overlooked and left out of the genealogical portion of the histories of their respective clans.

Having said so much, to obviate disappointment later on, and

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respectfully asking the aid of everyone who is able to give any information—historical or genealogical—which will help us to produce a work worthy of this ancient clan, we proceed to discuss the various views as to the origin of the family and name.

It is not intended to give here a consecutive, complete history, but, first, as in the case of the other families already named, such an account as may prove interesting to the general reader, and at the same time enable us to procure additional information from the various sources, which, as on previous occasions, are sure to be opened up, or placed within our reach as we proceed.

ORIGIN OF THE CLAN.

The generally received theory in the case of the Macleods, as in that of most of the other Highland clans, is that they are of foreign origin—descended from the early Norwegian kings of the Isle of Man. This descent, said to have based on the *Chronicle of Man*, was universally acknowledged, until Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, declared against it, stating that, though few origins have been more strenuously supported than the alleged Norwegian origin of the Macleods, there is "not the vestige of authority" for it. The *Chronicle of Man*, which has been so repeatedly quoted by various genealogists in support of the assertion that the Macleods are descended from the Norwegian Kings of Man, is absolutely silent on the point, and no evidence whatever is available from that source, though quoted so often as an authority on the subject. Skene says that "it is a singular circumstance that that record is nevertheless destitute of the slightest hint of any such origin, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea." And he further says, that the tradition of Norwegian descent does not "appear to be very old, for in a manuscript genealogy of the Macleods, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent," but, on the contrary, he maintains, they are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and "were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran."* Leod, the eponymus of the Clan, we are told,

* *Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 273.

cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.* Having so far given the opinion of the learned and high authority, Dr. Skene, we shall now state at length the Norwegian origin, claimed by the family themselves, and universally acknowledged by all the genealogists, up to within the last half century. It is as follows :—

A certain Godfred Crovan, son of Harold the Black, of the Royal Family of Denmark, was appointed King of Man and the Western Isles of Scotland, by Harold, the Imperious, and, accompanied by a fleet and an army, he came and took possession of his kingdom in 1066, the superiority still remaining with the reigning Norwegian Kings. This Godfred, who reigned for sixteen years, died in the Island of Islay, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Lagman, in 1103, succeeded his father. The second son, Harold, raised a rebellion against Lagman, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner, his eyes put out, and otherwise treated in the most barbarous manner. Lagman, for this cruel conduct towards his brother, was seized with remorse. He then renounced his Kingdom, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died, having only ruled for seven years. His brother, Harold, also died without issue, when the Island Kingdom fell to Godfred's third son, Olave or Olaus, then a minor. The government of the Kingdom, during this minority, was entrusted to Donald Mac-Tade, an Irish nobleman sent over to the people by Murchad O'Brien, King of Ireland, at their request, who behaved in such a tyrannical fashion, by oppressing his subjects, that after two years he was expelled, when he fled to Ireland; and Olaus, having by this time come of age, took charge of the government himself. He married Elfrica, daughter of the Lord of Galloway, at the time one of the most powerful nobles in Scotland. By his wife, Olave or Olaus, the Red, had one son, Godfred the Black, his heir. He also had three natural sons. Of several daughters, one, Ragnhildis, about 1140, became the wife of Somerled, Thane of Argyle and of the Isles, and progenitrix of all the Macdonalds, Macdougalls, and several other historical families in the Western Highlands and Isles. According to the *Chronicle of Man*, this marriage was the cause of the fall of the Norwegian Kingdom of the Isles, and was the

* *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 340.

foundation of the title of Kings and Lords of the Isles, afterwards assumed, and long maintained, by Somerled's descendants. Olave the Red is said to have been a good Prince, and to have entered into friendly leagues with the Kings of Scotland and Ireland. After reigning in comparative peace for about forty years, he was, in 1154, assassinated by his nephews, the sons of his illegitimate brother Harold, who claimed half his Kingdom of the Isles. His son, Godfred the Black, was at the time in Norway, but, hearing of his father's death, he hastened to the Isles, where he was received by the people with great rejoicings as their lawful King. Having executed the murderers of his father, he proceeded to Ireland to share in the wars then going on in that Kingdom. Returning to the Isle of Man, he became so tyrannical that the nobles rebelled against his rule, and by the instrumentality of one of his nobles (Thorfinn), Dougall, the son of Somerled of the Isles, and Godfred's nephew, was proclaimed King of the Isles. After a fierce engagement between Godfred and Somerled, the Southern Isles (south of Ardnamurchan and Kintyre) were ceded to the latter; Godfred retaining the Isle of Man and the Northern Isles for himself.* Two years later Godfred was virtually driven out of Man, when he went to Norway and never returned. He died about 1187, leaving an only lawful son (Olave the Black), then only ten years old. The nobles of Man appointed his natural brother, Reginald, a very brave man, as their governor, during Olave's minority, but he soon usurped the crown for himself, and kept possession of it for thirty-eight years, giving his brother,

OLAVE THE BLACK, the legitimate heir, the Island of Lewis for his maintenance. He, however, afterwards succeeded, by the aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, in repossessing himself of the Norwegian Kingdom of Man and the Isles, about 1226. He died about 1237, having been thrice married; first, to a daughter of one of the leading families of Kintyre, by whom he had three sons—Harold, Reginald, and Magnus, all of whom successively reigned as Kings of Man. But Magnus of Norway, and Superior of the Isles, having surrendered the Island Kingdom to Alexander II. of

* For a full account of these proceedings see Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 17-34.

Scotland, and Magnus of Man having died at the Castle of Ross, in 1266, without issue, the Island Kingdom came to an end. Olave the Red had no issue by his second marriage; but having married, thirdly, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had, by her, three sons—

1. LEOD, OR LOYD, PROGENITOR OF THE MACLEODS.
2. Guin, from whom the Clan Gunn of Sutherland and Caithness, and
3. Leandruis, of whom Clan Leandruis, or Gillanders.

When Olave the Red, last King of Man, died, his eldest son, LEOD, who was the fifth of the Royal line of the Norwegian Kings of Man, in direct descent, was under age. He was brought up and fostered in the house of Paul, son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, otherwise designated as "Paul Balkason, Lord of Skye," a man "of the greatest power and authority of any in those parts, who had been a constant friend of his father's in all his dangers and distresses," and by whose assistance his father, as already stated, recovered his kingdom. Leod "flourished in the reign of King Alexander III., and got from said Paul the lands of the Herries, &c.; and from his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, a part of the Barony of Glenelg, and he and his posterity have ever since been promiscuously designed by the title of Herries [Harris], Glenelg, Dunvegan, and of that Ilk.* Leod married a daughter of MacRaidl Armuinn, a Danish knight, who had his seat where Dunvegan now stands, and with her he received the lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye. There are some families of the name of MacRaidl still living on the Macleod estates, and we know one or two others elsewhere who came originally from that district.

Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh, the famous Macleod poetess, refers to the traditional Norwegian and Royal origin of the race in her famous "*Cronan*," where she says, on the recovery of young Macleod from a serious illness:—

* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 375. "Among the documents found in the King's Treasury, at Edinburgh, in 1282, there was one entitled, 'Charter of Glenhelk,' which belonged to the Isle of Man. In 1292 the lands of Glenelg appear to have been included in the Sherifdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*.

"*Sliochd Ollaghair nan lann,
Thogadh sroilltean ri crann,
Nuair a thoisich iad ann,
Cha bu lionsgaradh gann,
Fir a b' thirinneach bann,
Priseil an dream.
Rioghal gun chall còrach.*"*

In the *Lord of the Isles*, Sir Walter Scott refers to the same origin, where some of the characteristics of "Stout Dunvegan's knight" and his Norse descent are thus referred to:—

"Torquil's rude thought and stubborn will
Smack of the wild Norwegian still."

By MacRaill's daughter, the heiress of Dunvegan, Leod had issue—

1. Tormod, ancestor of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg, now represented by the Macleods of Dunvegan, and known among the Highlanders to this day as "*Sìol Thormoid*."

2. Torquil, progenitor of the Macleods of Lewis, Waternish, in Skye, Assynt, and Gairloch, on the Mainland, and of Raasay. The Macleods of Lewis are still spoken of in Gaelic as "*Sìol Thorcuil*," and the cadet family of Raasay as "*Clann Mhic Gille Chaluim*," to indicate their descent from Malcolm Garve, son of Malcolm, eighth Baron of the Lewis.

Each of the sons, Tormod and Torquil, was a *Mac Leod*, or son of Leod, whence the name of the family.

Before proceeding with the History in connection with either of the two leading families of this great House, it may be well to dispose, so far as we can, of their respective claims to be head of the Clan, for the seniority and the Chiefship have been at various times disputed and claimed by the descendants of the two brothers, TORMOD and TORQUIL respectively, and it may be considered doubtful, and difficult to prove, which of them was the eldest son of LEOD; though it is now almost universally admitted that Tormod was the elder of the two, and that, therefore, his male representative, the present Macleod of Dunvegan, is rightfully designated Macleod of Macleod, and Chief of the Clan.

It has always been claimed by the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan—(1), that Tormod got the greater portion of his father's estates; (2), that, in several Royal Charters, and other

* Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*.

authentic documents, where the heads of the families are mentioned, the representatives of Tormod, usually styled Macleods of Harris, are always named and inserted before the representatives of the Macleods of Lewis; and (3), that, though the representatives of Tormod have changed their armorial bearings, there is sufficient proof that they formerly carried the paternal arms of the family.

On the other hand, the representatives of the family of Lewis have maintained—(1), that the descendants of Torquil, their progenitor, succeeded his father in the Island of Lewis, which, they say, was the paternal estate of the Clan; (2), that the representatives of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; and (3), that it has been the unvaried tradition of the Lewis Macleods, that Torquil was the eldest son, and that this is confirmed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon, King at Arms, and by Buchanan's *History of the Origin of the Clans*, published in 1723.

Referring to these counter claims for precedence, Skene says that "from the earliest period in which the Macleods are mentioned in history, they have been divided into the great families of Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, and Macleod of Lewis, and these families have for a long time disputed as to which of them the rights of Chief belong. As occurs in the somewhat parallel case of the Macneils, this dispute appears to have arisen from the possessions of the Macleods having necessarily been so little connected together, and from both families being nearly of equal power and consequence; but, from the few data which have remained to guide us on this point, there seems every reason to think that Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, was of old the proper Chief of the Clan. Macleod of Harris," he continues, "was originally invariably designated 'de Glenelg,' and Glenelg was certainly the first and chief possession of the Clan. In various charters of the fifteenth century, to which the head of both families happen to be witnesses, Macleod de Glenelg always appears before that of Lewis, and, finally, the possessions of the Lewis family formed no part of the original possessions of the Clan, for the Charter of the family of Lewis is one by King David

II. to Torquil Macleod, of the barony of Assynt. And it is certain," Mr. Skene sums up, "that Torquil obtained this barony by marriage with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of the lands, and in that Charter he is not designated 'de Lewis,' *nor has he any designation whatever*. These facts," he declares, "seem conclusive, that the claim of Macleod of Harris to be Chief of the Clan is well founded, and that the marriage of a younger son to the heiress of Assynt and Lewis, gave rise to the family of Lewis, who were the oldest cadets of the Clan, and who soon came to rival the family of the Chief in power and extent of territory." The first charter of any lands to the family was granted by David II., to Malcolm, son of Tormod Macleod, son of Leod, about 1343, and the obligation contained in it is to the effect that Macleod is to keep a twenty-six-oared galley at all times for the use of the King.*

Referring to lands acquired by the family in the Isle of Skye, now the only estates in their possession, Skene also says that they acquired these lands by marriage with the daughter of MacRaild, one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles, and he maintains that it is from this connection, and from the succession which was secured by it, that first probably arose the tradition of the Macleods being originally descended from the Norwegian Kings of the Isles; and he holds, as already stated, that they were originally of pure native descent, and belonging to the ancient inhabitants of the Celtic Earldom of Garmoran. The original possessions of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg were always held of the Crown, while those of the family of Lewis were held as vassals of the Earl of Ross and Lords of the Isles. At first the Harris family held that island under the MacRuaries of Garmoran; and, later on, when the North Isles passed into the house of Islay, they held Harris, as their neighbours and namesakes did Lewis, from the Lords of the Isles; and they also held their lands in Skye, comprising at that time fully two-thirds of the Island, as vassals of the Lordship of the Isles. The armorial bearings of the two families were quite different from an early period—that of Harris being a Castle, and that of Lewis a burning Mountain.

(To be continued.)

* "About the year 1343, King David II. granted to Malcolm, the son of Turmode Macleod, two-thirds of the tenement of Glenelg, namely, eight darachs and five pennylands, for the service of a ship of 26 oars when required."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.

ST. KILDA.

I.

Here rise no groves, and here no gardens blow,
 Here even the hardy heath scarce dares to grow;
 But rocks on rocks, in mist and storm array'd,
 Stretch far to sea their giant colonnade,
 With many a cavern seam'd, the dreary haunt
 Of the dun seal and swarthy cormorant.
 While round their rifted brows, with frequent cry,
 As of lament, the gulls and gannets fly,
 And from their sable base, with sullen sound,
 In sheets of whitening foam the waves rebound.—SCOTT.

It is only a few weeks since two sad messages from St. Kilda were cast ashore upon the coasts of the Long Island. Both told a melancholy tale of disaster and distress, and both were launched upon the bosom of the mighty Atlantic in "little ships," rudely fashioned out of a piece of wood, and rigged with a tiny mast and sail. Bravely did the little vessels bear the tale committed to their charge, withstanding the great Atlantic billows, and sailing merrily on to the land, where there were sympathetic and kindly hearts to listen to the simple St. Kilda folk's sad story. The first one which arrived was picked up on Thursday, 24th September last, by a rural letter-carrier on the beach at Aird Uig, a town-ship on the West Coast of the Lewis, near Gallan Head. The message itself was contained in a bottle, which was inserted in a small piece of wood roughly shaped into the form of a boat. The wood was branded "St. Kilda," and the words "open this" were cut on a small board covering the bottle. The message was written on what appeared to have been the leaf of a school exercise-book, and another slip of paper enclosed bore the address—"Mr. Kenneth Campbell, teacher, Uig, Lewis, by Stornoway." The message ran as follows:—

"St Kilda Sep the 8th 1885.

"My Dear Sir—I am now going to write you a letter and sending her in one of the little ships in which we were sailing on the shore as you know to let you know all the knews. the men were building a house just a little house for the cows a great storm came on and all the corn and barley were swept away by the storm and one of the boats was swept away by the sea the men of St Kilda is nearly dead with the hunger. They send two boats from St Kilda to go to Haries not the fishing boats but little piece of wood like the little one which I send. I sent my best loves unto you.—I am yours truly

"ALEXANDER FERGUSON."

At the Valuation Appeal Court, held at Portree on 29th September, the following petition, signed by a number of the inhabitants of St. Kilda, and addressed to Mr. Balderston, the County Assessor, was read :—

“ St. Kilda, Sept. 15th, 1885.

“ Honoured Sir,—We, the undersigned, beg leave to intimate to you that we consider it unfair to be paying for grazing for sheep which we do not possess. When our present proprietor, Macleod of Macleod, bought this island from the late Sir John Macleod, London, the number of sheep which each of the sixteen crofters then possessed was entered on the rental book of our present proprietor, and the price of grazing for each sheep then was ninepence a-head. But we have now much below the number of sheep we had then, and we are still paying for the full number. This we do not consider fair. It was the rule, under our former proprietor, that each of us would pay ninepence a-head for the grazing of sheep, and this we wish to be restored to us, as each of us then would only pay according to the number of sheep possessed by him. We are most willing to pay for whatever number of sheep each of us may possess.

“ The second point which we wish to bring under your notice is the rock. It has been told us that the late Duke of Athole had got us full liberty from Government to catch the fulmars which were resting on the rocks without our paying rent. For this each of us was then paying £2 sterling. The factor, too, on his arrival here the following summer, told us that we had now full liberty to catch the fulmars free of rent. The fulmars rest on or about the island throughout the year, but it is during three months that we reap much benefit by them—that is, from the latter end of May till the 28th of August. Observe, instead of relieving us of this £2 sterling, which was paid for each of us for the rocks, the £2 was laid on the crofts and on the sheep grazings of the Island of Borera.

“ Some of us are now paying one shilling and sixpence for the grazing of sheep, instead of ninepence. This we have done for many years, although some of us have lost most of our sheep by falling over the rocks, and by wet and stormy seasons.

“ We feel aggrieved to have to pay for birds which live on the sea, and which we catch in steep and high rocks at great danger to our lives, and which would not be attempted by any other people but ourselves. We hope you will do everything you possibly can to do us justice, as we are far off from the courts of justice in this solitary island.”

There being no one present from St. Kilda, the appeal was dismissed.

The following letter from the proprietor of St. Kilda appeared in an Inverness paper on 10th October :—

“ 5th October, 1885.

“ Sir,—The appearance in your paper of the 30th ultimo of two communications from St. Kilda compels me to ask you to kindly insert another letter. The first of these communications, picked up on the shores of the Lewis, appears to have been written by a boy. I think it possible that some of the corn, and perhaps a boat, may have been swept away by the storm, but that the people of the Island are suffer-

ing from hunger is impossible, as they do not rely on their own produce, but always have a supply of meal sufficient to last till May or June next.

"As respects the petition addressed by the tenants of St. Kilda to the County Assessor, it is difficult to understand their complaint, and I am unable to explain what they mean about the Duke of Athole and the Government. The simple facts are that they pay a rent of £2 each for their arable ground, and so much a-head for the grazing of their cattle and sheep. Of this arrangement they have never complained till now, because they always had a full stock, but it appears they lost a number of sheep last spring. This accounts for their present petition, and as I always treat exceptionally these lonely people, surrounded as they are by the melancholy main, I shall certainly comply with the wish they have expressed. As to the birds and rocks, they have never been asked by me to pay a penny for either.—I am, yours, &c.,

"MACLEOD OF MACLEOD."

On Monday, 28th September, an old man walking along the beach at Tarnsay, Harris, found a little boat made of a thick plank about a yard in length, on which were the words, cut deep into the wood, "St. Kilda. Please open—Hugh Macallum." On opening a small hatch, two bottles were found, in each of which was a letter. There was a sail set on the little vessel, and a heavy piece of iron nailed to the bottom, so that it could not be upset. One of the letters ran as follows:—

"St Kilda Manse, 16th Sept., 1885.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—I beg leave to intimate to you that I am directed by the people on the island to tell you that their corn, barley, and potatoes are destroyed by a great storm that passed over the island on Saturday and Sabbath last. You will be kind enough to apply to Government in order to send a supply of corn seed, barley, and potatoes. This year's crop is quite useless. They never before saw such a storm at this time of the year. They have lost one of their boats, but happily there was no loss of life. They have some meal on the island, which the proprietor sent them in the beginning of this month. The crops were not ripe when the storm passed over the island. We send you this enclosed in a little boat made of a piece of a plank. I sincerely hope you are well.—I am, rev. dear sir, yours very truly.

"JOHN MACKAY.

"The Rev. Alexander Maccoll, Free Church Manse, Lochalsh."

It is pitiful to think that, within sight of part of the Long Island, we have a lonely sea-girt isle, whose only means of communication with the Mainland, during the greater part of the year, is by means of these tiny vessels, launched upon the bosom of the great ocean to find their way, guided only by Providence, to the unknown world of telegraphs, railways, and cities. Whilst public attention has of late been thus drawn so painfully towards the island by these messages cast upon the shores of Lewis and Harris, we think that some information regarding St. Kilda and

its primitive inhabitants, collected from different sources, will prove interesting to the reader.

The ancient name of the island was Hirt, or Hirta, which Martin, in his *Description of the Western Isles*, 1695, derives from the Irish *Ier*, meaning West, St. Kilda being the most westerly of all the Scottish isles. The Rev. Kenneth Macaulay, however, in a little book, entitled, *A Voyage to, and History of, St. Kilda*, published in 1765, suggests a different origin for the name. "We know with certainty," he says, "that Norwegians and Danes infested each side of this kingdom for a course of ages. Some of these rovers, if driven forward by north-east winds, after having lost their course, or after having left Shetland behind them, would have naturally spied out St. Kilda sooner than any other place in the Deucalionian Ocean, as the rock and hills there are higher than anywhere else, and, upon making so agreeable a discovery, would have very probably cried out *Hert, Hert*, or Land, Land; nor is it an extravagant conceit to suppose that this small land might, for that very reason, have retained the name ever after." Buchanan calls the island Hirta, while Cambden calls it Hyrtha. The first mention made of it in any document, now extant, is said to be in a charter granted by John, Lord of the Isles, to his son, Reginald, and confirmed by King Robert the Second, after the middle of the fourteenth century. In that charter the island is called Hyrt.

When Martin visited the island, about the last decade of the seventeenth century, he found some 200 inhabitants in St. Kilda, but in 1765 the number had dwindled down to eighty-eight, chiefly owing to the smallpox, which carried away nearly the whole population of the island in one visitation. The terrible disease was first contracted in the Island of Harris by a St. Kilda man, who died there. Unfortunately a fellow-islander came the following year and took the dead man's clothes back to St. Kilda, thus communicating the infection. Had it not been for a lucky accident, the whole population would have been exterminated; as it was, of twenty-one families, only four grown-up persons, and twenty-six young orphans, were left alive. Shortly before the disease commenced to ravage the island, three men and eight boys went to one of the adjacent isles to catch solan geese for the

benefit of the whole community. Their boat went back to St. Kilda as usual, but, owing to the disease having broken out in the interval, no one was able to man it for the purpose of bringing the bird-catchers home again at the proper time, and they were compelled to subsist upon the island for about nine months, until rescued by the factor's boat. By the time they returned home, the disease had done its devastating work in St. Kilda, and died out again. The population now is only seventy-seven.

Martin gives a most amusing account of a visit which one of the islanders paid to Glasgow, and which we produce *verbatim* :—

“He was astonished at the length of the voyage, and of the great kingdoms, as he thought them, that is isles, by which they sailed; the largest in his way did not exceed twenty-four miles in length, but he considered how much they exceeded his own little native country. Upon his arrival at Glasgow, he was like one that had dropped from the clouds into a new world, whose language, habits, &c., were in all respects new to him; he never imagined that such big houses of stone were made with hands; and for the pavements of the streets, he thought it must needs be altogether natural, for he could not believe that men would be at the pains to beat stones into the ground to walk upon. He stood dumb at the door of his lodging, with the greatest admiration; and when he saw a coach and two horses, he thought it to be a little house they were drawing at their tail, with men in it; but he condemned the coachman for a fool to sit so uneasy, for he thought it safer to sit on the horse's back. The mechanism of the coach-wheel, and its running about, was the greatest of all his wonders. When he went through the streets, he desired to have one to lead him by the hand. Thomas Ross, a merchant, and others, that took the diversion to carry him through the town, asked his opinion of the High Church? He answered that it was a large rock, yet there were some in St. Kilda much higher, but that these were the best caves he ever saw; for that was the idea which he conceived of the pillars and arches upon which the church stands. When they carried him into the church, he was yet more surprised, and held up his hands with admiration, wondering how it was possible for men to build such a prodigious fabric, which he supposed to be the largest in the universe. He

could not imagine what the pews were designed for, and he fancied the people that wore masks (not knowing whether they were men or women) had been guilty of some ill things for which they dared not show their faces. He was amazed at women wearing patches, and fancied them to have been blisters. Pendants seemed to him the most ridiculous of all things; he condemned periwigs mightily, and much more the powder used in them; in fine, he condemned all things as superfluous he saw not in his own country. He looked with amazement on everything that was new to him. When he heard the church-bells ring, he was under a mighty consternation, as if the fabric of the world had been in great disorder. He did not think there had been so many people in the world as in the City of Glasgow; and it was a great mystery to him to think what they could all design by living so many in one place. He wondered how they could all be furnished with provisions; and when he saw big loaves, he could not tell whether they were bread, stone, or wood. He was amazed to think how they could be provided with ale, for he never saw any there that drank water. He wondered how they made them fine clothes, and to see stockings made without being first cut, and afterwards sewn, was no small wonder to him. He thought it foolish in women to wear thin silks, as being a very improper habit for such as pretended to any sort of employment. When he saw the women's feet, he judged them to be of another shape than those of the men, because of the different shape of their shoes. He did not approve of the heels of shoes worn by men or women; and when he observed horses with shoes on their feet, and fastened with iron nails, he could not forbear laughing, and thought it the most ridiculous thing that ever fell under his observation. He longed to see his native country again, and passionately wished it were blessed with ale, brandy, tobacco, and iron, as Glasgow was."

The name St. Kilda, which is comparatively modern, is exceedingly difficult to account for. Martin says that it is taken from one Kilder, who lived there, but that is all the information he gives. Mr. Macaulay, in his book already referred to, suggests a number of different origins for the name. There was a female saint, named Kilda, who was a prominent figure in the early

Saxon Church, but it is exceedingly improbable that her name ever travelled to this remote portion of the British Isles. There was also an old British writer, called Gildas, but, as he was a devout hater of the Scots, it is not likely that he was ever connected with the island in any way. Mr. Macaulay inclines to the belief that the word Kilda is a corruption of Culdee, the name given to the early Christian missionaries in Scotland. There is a well in the island called Tobar-Kilda, and he takes this to mean the Culdee's Well, probably so called from some member of that order, who took up his residence there. Some one hearing the name would conclude that the well bore the name of a saint, and would have called the island St. Kilda after him, in preference to the older Hirt or Hirta.

The island of old belonged to Macleod of Harris, and was given over by him to a steward, generally a cadet of the Macleod family. This steward usually appointed a deputy, who was a native of the place, and resided in the island. This deputy had free lands, and an omer of barley from each family; he had also the honour of being the first and last in their boat, as they went and came to the smaller isles and rocks. The steward himself visited the island once every summer to collect the rents, which were paid in kind, the principal articles given being down, wool, butter, cheese, cows, horses, fowls, oil, and barley—silver or gold being then unknown in the island. Some years before Martin's visit, the steward attempted one year to exact a sheep from every family in the place, the number being twenty-seven, but this they refused to submit to. The steward then sent his brother, and a number of other men, to take the sheep by force, but the islanders met the invading party, and, armed with daggers and fishing-rods, attacked them with such effect that they were forced to return without attaining their object, and the attempt was not again renewed.

Just as we were about to conclude this paper, we learnt that the steamer "Hebridean" had been sent out to St. Kilda from Glasgow on Thursday, 15th October, with a quantity of supplies for the relief of the unfortunate islanders. The supplies consisted of oats, oatmeal, potatoes, tea, sugar, and other necessities, and were presented by Sir William Collins, Principal Rainy, and

other gentlemen in the South, to whom all honour is due for their prompt and disinterested action. The vessel arrived in the Bay of St. Kilda on the evening of Sunday, 18th October, and early on the following morning the cargo was brought ashore and distributed among the poor islanders, who evinced the greatest gratitude towards their kind benefactors.

A striking instance of the simplicity of the inhabitants came under the notice of those who accompanied the "Hebridean" on her voyage. The night before the vessel's arrival in St. Kilda, one of the married women in the island heard, or imagined she heard, the report of a gun being fired, and, communicating this piece of intelligence to her husband, the two of them talked the matter over with some neighbours. Their deliberations resulted in a unanimous verdict that a fleet of men-of-war had arrived off the coast, in order to put the islanders to the sword, as the only means of cutting short their troublesome practice of sending pestering messages for help! No time was to be lost in escaping from the invaders, and the whole of the little band took to the hills, and spent the night in hiding. With the return of day, they came back to the village, but their fears were not set at rest, for several of the women admitted that, when the "Hebridean" awoke the echoes with her steam-whistle, they felt sure that the hostile fleet had come at last, and great drops of sweat fell from their foreheads. Probably Sheriff Ivory's recent military and police flare-up in Skye was fresh in the minds of the innocent St. Kildeans. The appearance of Captain MacCallum, however, who was well known to them all, soon restored their courage and gladdened their hearts.

H.M.S. "Jackal" left Rothesay Bay on Tuesday, 20th October, for St. Kilda, having on board Mr. Malcolm MacNeil, Commissioner for the Board of Supervision, Edinburgh, who is to enquire into the condition of the inhabitants, and the causes of the present distress in the island. We sincerely hope the visit may be productive of lasting good to the islanders.

Next month we shall give some more information regarding this far-off isle—truly, in the words of the Poet Laureate—

"The loneliest in a lonely sea."

H.R.M.

(To be continued.)

AN OLD CHURCH PROCESS.

[BY KENNETH MACDONALD, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.]

IN Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh's "Antiquarian Notes," a pretty story is told of Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, one of the ministers of Inverness, who died in 1774, after a ministry in Inverness of nearly thirty-three years. At the time of his death, Mr. Mackenzie was minister of the First Charge, and his beadle was Ludovic, or Lody Ross, whose name still survives in local tradition. "When," says Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, "Mr. Murdoch, who lived in Castle Street, lay a-dying, there was great lamentation, and none bewailed more than Lody, who was constantly in attendance. His evening bell-ringing could not be neglected, however. After discharging this duty, and emerging from the tower, what meets his astonished gaze? Nothing else than all the windows of the Kirk one blaze of light, while sacred music of the sweetest description rose in volume to the sky. But for a moment, however; and, rushing back to the clergyman's house, Lody found that the soul of his pastor had a few minutes since taken its heavenly flight, resting, as Lody firmly believed, for a moment, with its attendant angels in the arena of its close, searching, and pious ministrations." Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh thinks the incident more in consonance with the old Catholic building, than with the bald, and far from sightly, modern church. It is certainly difficult to imagine the present singularly plain High Church of Inverness illuminated with angelic light, and filled, even for a moment, with angelic music, but we must either accept the present Church as the locus of the incident, or reject it altogether, for the old Church was replaced by the present one two or three years before Mr. Mackenzie's death.

Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, we learn from the *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, was translated from Dingwall to Inverness Third Charge in 1741 or 1742. He was translated to the Second Charge in 1751, and to the First Charge in 1763. In 1745 he married a daughter of John Hossack, who was Provost of Inver-

ness at the time of the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Mr. Mackenzie died, as has been said, in 1774, in the 74th year of his age, and the 42nd of his ministry. It is said of him that "when engaged in prayer the tears were often seen falling from his cheeks, and he is said in preaching never to have uttered a word of which he did not feel the force and truth in his own heart."

When Mr. Mackenzie was translated to Inverness Third Charge, the minister of the First Charge was Mr. Alexander Macbean, who had been translated from the Third to the First Charge in 1727. Of him the *Fasti* says—"In his day he was the John Knox of the North, and one who greatly exerted himself to suppress the spirit of rebellion in and about Inverness during 1745 and 1746." He died in November, 1762, and was succeeded in the First Charge by Mr. Mackenzie.

While Mr. Mackenzie was incumbent of the Third Charge, the incumbent of the Second Charge was Mr. Alexander Fraser, who had been translated from Urquhart and Logie-Wester to Inverness in 1727. He died on 6th May, 1750, in the 76th year of his age, and the 48th year of his ministry, "eminent both for piety and talent."

These clergymen were, during their ministry, engaged in litigation, either with the whole heritors of their parish, or with the Magistrates of the town in which they ministered. Messrs. Macbean and Mackenzie were so engaged for several years, Mr. Fraser for a shorter period. Some papers connected with the processes, at the instance of the ministers, are in my possession, and as they are interesting in themselves, and contain information of value to the student of local history, I propose to give some account of them.

A short time before Mr. Alexander Fraser's death, an action was raised by himself and Mr. Macbean against the Magistrates of Inverness, for payment of the difference between the stipend actually drawn by them, and a stipend of 1600 merks, for the years 1737 and 1738, "and in all time thereafter during the subsistence of" an Act of Parliament obtained by the town in 1737. The only documents in any way connected with the process, which I have seen, are a "State of the Process—The Ministers of Inverness v. the Magistrates of Inverness," written by Mr. John

Fraser, the town's Edinburgh solicitor, in 1753, and a letter from Mr. Fraser to Provost Hossack, sending him the "State." These documents, however, contain all the information we want as to the subject matter of the action, and they carry us so far down in the matter of date, that, with the assistance of a hint contained in one of the papers in a subsequent process, we can make a pretty safe guess at the result.

In the year 1719 the town of Inverness obtained right, by Act of Parliament, to raise a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale brewed or sold within the town and privilege of Inverness for 19 years. The money so raised was to be applied in paying the debts of the town, enlarging the existing Church, or building a new one, making provision for a minister or ministers, and in repairing and deepening the harbour. On 12th October, 1720, the Magistrates, who evidently thought the town would realise a large sum from the ale tax, and that they could consequently afford to be liberal to the ministers, enacted that after Martinmas, 1720, and during the continuance of the Act, the stipend of each of the ministers should be augmented to 1600 merks yearly. This stipend was paid to each of the then three incumbents, and to Mr. Alexander Fraser, the successor to one of them, for about 16 years. As the period for which the ale tax had been granted drew to a close, the Magistrates found that the town was more deeply in debt than ever, chiefly, they stated, on account of their expenditure in connection with "well-intended undertakings" pointed out by the Act—the Harbour principally. They, therefore, applied for, and, after an opposition which increased the debt of the town between £200 and £300 sterling, obtained a new Act, continuing the tax for 21 years. The Magistrates had by this time found out how much or how little could be done with a tax on ale, and in their new Act there was nothing about building a Church or providing for ministers; their sole ambition now was to pay the debt they had already incurred, and this was all the Act made provision for. The Magistrates, however, anticipated the omission of the ministers from the new Act by ceasing to pay the 1600 merks two years before the old Act expired. The ministers do not appear to have taken any action for ten or twelve years, but they then raised an

action, not only for the shortcoming in their stipends for the two years of the old Act, but also for the whole period of the second Act. To the claim for the augmented stipend during the continuance of the second Act of Parliament, the defence of the Magistrates was that the augmented stipend was payable under a contract which expired with the first Act, and that, even had they the will, they had not the power to pay it out of the sums collected under the second Act. What their defence to the first part of the claim was does not appear, but that they stated some defence, more or less shaky, to it, appears from the gingerly way in which Mr. John Fraser refers to it in his letter to Provost Hossack transmitting the "State of the Process." "The main point," he says, "is short and neat, and cannot admit of any alteration, and it is my opinion the Lord Ordinary will, upon its being laid before him, give the question for the town; and as to the two articles claimed by the pursuers, as their shortcoming of 1600 merks of stipends for the years 1737 and 1738, they do not amount to much money, but even against these *there are, to be sure, just and obvious defences,*" and there he leaves it. Notwithstanding the "just and obvious defences," the Lord Ordinary had already decided that part of the case against the town. Mr. Fraser's letter is dated 1st June, 1753, and his "State of the Process" says that, on 20th December, 1750, Lord Elchies, Ordinary in the cause, after advising long minutes of debates, found the Magistrates liable for the additional stipends libelled during the continuance of the first grant, but sustained their defences to the additional stipends after the expiry of the first grant, and during the continuance of the second, and decerned accordingly. Against this interlocutor, a representation was given in by the ministers, and on 6th February, 1751, the Lord Ordinary ordained the Magistrates to produce an authenticated copy or extract of the Act of 15th May, 1739, made by the overseers named in the last grant, and likewise an account of the annual produce of the duty since that time. On 6th June, 1751, the Act and account were produced, but from that time until the "State of the Process" was written, nothing further was done towards bringing the action to an end.

Before the beginning of the year 1755, however, the action

did come to an end, and the Magistrates were apparently successful in the main part of the case. An action was then raised in the Teind Court by Mr. Alexander Macbean and Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, ministers at Inverness, against the Heritors, for an augmentation of stipend. At the outset the Magistrates did not oppose this action. As they afterwards said, "they and every individual of the town being perfectly sensible of the pursuers, their not being provided in a stipend near adequate to the weight and importance of the Charge, or what the Teinds of the parish could admit of, did therefore consider it an improper thing in them to state themselves as defenders, or to give any opposition to the pursuers in an action so much founded on justice." But, according to themselves, they had a rude awakening. The passage just quoted is from a petition presented for them to the Teind Court on 24th February, 1755, and the tone of mild reproach of the immediately succeeding sentence is somewhat amusing. "At the same time," they say, "they did not expect that the pursuers (the ministers) would have taken decreet against the town for sums not concluded for, or in payment of which they knew the town could not by law be subjected, neither did they expect that the other Heritors, by a misrepresentation of facts, would have endeavoured to load the town with the payment of sums to which they must have known themselves to be duly liable, but in both the petitioners have been mistaken." The cause of this reproachful remonstrance was that, in the interlocutor modifying the stipends, the town was not only ordained to pay 200 merks of stipend out of the Common Good, but to pay each of the ministers "100 merks yearly in lieu of a manse, and to furnish the elements to the Communion, *according to use and wont*, out of the town's Common Good." The Magistrates say that the interlocutor, so far as concerns the 200 merks of stipend, should be "made somewhat more explicit," and they go on to explain that in 1665 the then incumbents of the parish obtained a decreet of modification and locality, according to which there is payable out of the lands held in feu by the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Inverness of the Kirk thereof, 100 merks of old locality paid out of the Common Good of the Burgh, and another 100 merks money out of the Common Good, which was accepted

by the pursuers of the decret for themselves and their successors serving the Cure, being in lieu of what was promised by the Magistrates' predecessors to the ministers serving the Cure, according to an Act of Council, dated 11th February, 1650, which bears the 100 merks to be then, "and in all time thereafter, in full satisfaction of all that can be challenged or claimed by the ministers or their successors from the said Magistrates, Council, Guildry, or community of the said Burgh, by virtue of the said Act, or any other manner of way." This was certainly explicit enough, and the Magistrates were perfectly right not to allow a bargain of this kind, judicially sanctioned ninety years before, to be lost sight of. With regard to the money decerned for in lieu of manses, and the expense of Communion elements, the Magistrates contended that they were only liable to the extent of their proportion as Heritors of the parish. There were, they said, two manses belonging to the ministers of the parish, but on their becoming "insufficient and uninhabitable," the Heritors came to the resolution of paying to each of the ministers 200 merks yearly, in name of house rent, until a proper opportunity should occur of repairing or rebuilding the manses. "Most of the Heritors having failed in paying their proportions, the heavy end of the performance of this agreement fell upon the Petitioners, and their predecessors in office, who could not see their ministers altogether unprovided with houses, and therefore have been in use of paying to each minister 100 merks per annum on that account, and this they did the more readily, as they always understood their ministers to be insufficiently provided in a stipend." They go on to state that for the same reason, in obtaining the Act of Parliament imposing a duty in favour of the town of two pennies on the pint of ale, and expecting that this tax would produce a considerable sum, they, in the year 1720, augmented the ministers' stipend to 1600 merks annually, but that the tax, having produced much less than they expected, and the town having in consequence contracted a debt of £1000 sterling, a sum they have very small prospect of getting soon paid off, they, on obtaining in 1737 a new Act of Parliament continuing the tax for a term of years, were obliged to "withdraw their bounty from the ministers." As to the town being in use

to furnish the Communion elements, it is, they say, "altogether a mistake, and 'tis believed neither the pursuers nor Heritors will now aver it."

The petition goes on to state that the town's interest in the parish, in point of estate, is £444 7s. 6d. (Scots) of yearly rent, whereof £224 18s. 10d. is land rent, and the remainder feu. Of the land rent, £183 12s. is said to be paid for a "piece of carse ground taken off the sea by building a very high dyke at a great expense, upon which the sea rises sometimes to about twelve feet in height, endangers the breaking down thereof, and thereby losing not only the expense they have been put to, but their rent in all time coming." The lands referred to are those now known as Seabank, recovered from the sea by the embankment at the Longman. The petition does not state when the dyke was built, nor do the Council Records, but it appears that rent was for the first time paid for the reclaimed lands in 1746. It was contended for the Magistrates that these lands could not be subjected in payment of stipend, on account of the manner in which they had been reclaimed from the sea, and because a constant and certain rent could not be said to arise from them, seeing they were liable to be again invaded by the tide; an argument which was ultimately sustained by the Court, but to which the landward Heritors retorted that "this would be a fine plea for some of the provinces of Holland, where the whole country has in former times been gained off the sea, from the overflowing of which it is only defended by their dykes."

The ministers and the landward Heritors were apparently as dissatisfied with the stipend modified by the Court as the Magistrates were. "It seems the interlocutor pleased none of the parties," says the town's agent, Mr. William Forbes, in a letter to Provost Hossack, dated 27th February, 1755, and petitions against it were presented for Messrs. Macbean and Mackenzie, the ministers; and for "John Forbes of Culloden, William Duff of Muirton, Alexander Baillie of Dunzean, George Ross of Kinmylies, Esquire, solicitor, at London; Evan Baillie of Aberiachan; and the other Heritors of the parish of Inverness." The petition of the Heritors states that the interlocutor of which they complained modified a stipend which they think "over profuse" for

this "corner of the country," and they submit a calculation showing that the existing stipend, with the value of the two glebes, which were let for £19 8s. 10d., and £16 13s. 4d. (sterling) respectively, yielded the ministers £194 7s. 11½d. between them. To this, they say, their Lordships had "been pleased to add" no less than £22 4s. 5½d., making the share of each minister £108, which "appears to be a very high stipend." Too high, the Heritors think, for they say (1) the Charge is neither extensive nor laborious, there being three ministers in the town of Inverness, all upon an equal footing; (2) being situated within a Royal Borough, they are not exposed to the incidental expense of entertaining strangers; (3) the third minister, who has but £65 of stipend, lives as decently and contentedly upon his stipend as becometh any gentleman of that profession, and was never heard to complain of his provision being too small; and (4) vivres of all kinds are cheap in Inverness, beef selling throughout the year at 1½d. per pound, and other fleshes proportionally cheap.

(To be continued.)

TO WILLIAM MACPHERSON, ESQ., OF INVERNESS,

On receiving from him a copy of *The Thistle*, a choice collection of Scottish Song, by Colin Brown, Ewing Lecturer, Anderson's College, Glasgow. Instrumental accompaniments and harmonies by James Merrylees.

My faithful friend, thy manly heart

Is ever, like thy voice, in tune ;

I thank thee for thy welcome gift—

A gift that is to me a boon.

Of Scotia's songs, a casquet rare,

Charmed verses, and sweet melodies ;

Where master pen and skilful note,

Give fame to Brown, to Merrylees.

Thy gift shall be to me a spring

From which sweet draughts I oft shall draw ;

And as I drink I'll think of thee

When, clansman, thou art far awa'.

My faithful friend, thy manly heart

Is ever, like thy voice, in tune ;

I thank thee for thy welcome gift—

A gift that is to me a boon.

DUNCAN MACGREGOR CREERAR.

New York, August 27, 1885.

THE HEROIC TALES OF THE CELTS.

BY

ALEX. MACBAIN, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.

THE materials of Irish Mythology have well been divided by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville into three leading parts; there is, first, the mythological cycle which deals with the gods and the ethnology of the country, and which we have treated already (Vol. ix. 124). There are, secondly, the Cuchulain cycle, and, thirdly, the Ossianic cycle, both dealing with the heroes of the race. Between the god-cycle and the hero-cycles there is a long break, which is filled up in the histories with meagre details, but full genealogies, of intermediate kings, with now and then an oasis of mythical incident, like Cimbaeth's conquest of the war-goddess, Macha Red-mane, and Labraid Loingseach's hunted youth and punishment of the usurping uncle. A wondrous list it is! Are these kings and chiefs but shadows conjured from the fertile imagination of bards and monks? Most of them undoubtedly are mere genealogical stop-gaps, though a few names and events may have lived on in legend and myth. For, what are the facts in regard to the literary documents of Irish history? None go back in MS. earlier than the year 1100, and the language in which the oldest MS. is written is just the language of the time at which it was written. It is useless to postulate for the composition of the literary matter a date of six centuries or more previously; the writings may be as old as that and older, but their final recension in the 11th century is couched in the language of that time, and great caution must be exercised in sifting out what is and what is not old. At the best, the result remains unsatisfactory, and unsafe to theorise upon. Yet, it must be said that Irish history from after the time of St. Patrick may be trusted, for it can be often tested by contemporary and other documents. When we remember the mythical history of St. Patrick himself, and that he is divisible into three different

personages, dating from 400 to 500—for St. Patrick dies at the age of 122 in the 14th year of King Lughaidh!—we are entitled to place little confidence in Irish history antecedent to him. In fact, Irish history begins with the introduction of Christianity. Previous to that, it is mythical and legendary. There are three distinctive periods, however; first, there is the mythological epoch commencing with Partolan and ending with the expulsion of the Tuatha-De-Danann and the instalment of the Milesian race. Then, secondly, comes the Milesian race of kings, filling up the void of fifteen hundred years till the Christian era or shortly before it, when the Cuchulain cycle of events begins. Again, thirdly, the period from the beginning of the Christian era to the time of St. Patrick is one which may be trusted possibly in its leading features. The *vraisimilitude* of Irish history has imposed on the best scholars, and even Professor Windisch is inclined to euhemerise the Cuchulain and Fenian cycles, and to believe the stories of the reigns of Conchobar and Cormac. But, really, the feats performed by Cuchulain are in the highest degree mythical; his life is a fairy tale that fits not into history, and, indeed, his name has no place in the “Annals of the Four Masters!” Nor is Finn and his Fenian militia (!) band much better treated; he is, indeed, mentioned in an obscure way as having fallen in A.D. 283, while the fatal field of Gabhra is represented as an ordinary event in Irish history unconnected with the collapse of a mighty and miraculous host. The fact is, the Irish annalists found it difficult to fit the fairy heroes into their histories, just as is the case with the British Arthur. There is no place for him in the kingly list, and he is accordingly, like Finn, a “dux belli.” Yet the fairy tales and romances regard these heroes as kings and princes, but the histories cannot recognise them; they do not fit in well, for, in reality, they belong to no particular time, but are the incarnation of the national deities in national heroes. These heroes cannot, therefore, be tied down to history; the most popular incidents in their lives are of a wholly unhistorical character—enchantments, fairy scenes and chases, gigantic heroes that over-stride firths and valleys—such are the characteristics of nearly all the tales. The historical part is poor and non-popular. The only historical incident recognised, and that, too, doubtfully, by the popular imagination, is the battle of

Gabhra, where the Feni were overthrown; and that battle, if historical at all, was fought, not by the Finn and Oscar of popular tradition, but by some of the numerous chiefs and kinglets bearing the names of the mythic heroes.

The Cuchulain cycle is set down as occurring at the beginning of the Christian era, while the Fenian cycle is placed three hundred years later. In any case, the two cycles are quite distinct in their characteristics. In the Cuchulain cycle, the hero *alone* performs all the wonders; for instance, Cuchulain and his charioteer *alone* keep the host of Meave at bay for a long period, until the princes of Ulster recover their powers. Now in the Fenian cycle, the heroes are banded together, and are captains of armies. Cuchulain rides on a chariot; the Fingalians know of none such—they are a band of foot soldiers.³⁰⁷ The two cycles have thus distinctive features, and they may be compared to the hero-cycles of Classical Mythology. These divide into two; there are the demigod heroes like Hercules, Theseus, and Perseus, who perform their feats alone; and, again, there are the more mortal heroes of the Trojan type, like Achilles, who heads a band of men and performs marvels; but, on the whole, the Feni rather belong to the Argonautic conception, which is somewhat earlier and is a thorough fairy tale, falling between the Hercules type and the purely Trojan type. The Arthurian cycle is Trojan in its characteristics.

Of Cuchulain's birth, "strange tales are told." Nominally the son of Sualtam, he in reality was the son of the god Luga—the sun-god, whose far-darting and flashing qualities he displays continually, for his power lies greatly in the use of the sling, and in fighting from the car. As a young man, he, like all fairy and mythic heroes, is lowly brought up, and serves Culann, the smith, if we can trust so evidently "eponymic" a myth, and hence he was called Cu-Chulain, "Culaun's Hound." But his name more likely contains the common prefix *cu* or *con*, signifying superiority, and not dog. Queen Meave makes a raid on Ulster to get the famous bull, Donn Chualgne, and the Ulster people, all save Cuchulain, are placed under a spell, whereby they cannot move to fight. Cuchulain alone withstands the host of Meave, dealing death with his sling, and fighting the champions "at the ford." But he fails, apparently, through demoniac influences, and Meave

gets the bull ; but, as she returns home, the Ulster men awake and pursue. A battle is fought, Cuchulain again appears, and carries all before him. Such is the rationalistic history of the "Cowspoil of Cualgne ;" but evidently the spoil is connected with the cattle of the sun-god, and is quite mythical, as Professor Windisch reluctantly remarked, only to controvert it inconsistently. The other incidents of his life are his mythical education ; his feats ; the slaying of his son, Conlaoch, by mistake—the story of Soohrab and Rustem of Persia ; and his tragic death through witchcraft spells.

Finn is also a fairy hero ; his birth is anteceded by his father's violent death and his mother's flight ; he is brought up in obscurity ; does wonderful youthful exploits ; tastes of the salmon of knowledge, and so, by bruising his thumb, which was burnt in the process of broiling the fish, in his mouth, can always discover the truth ; acquires his father's position, and is great. Innumerable are the tales of the Feni. The real Fenian tales are composed of fairy battles, scenes, and spells ; but they have got tinged with real events, such as, in Scotland, the descents of the Norsemen ; and, consequently, Finn's fairy opponent sometimes partakes of a Norse name and character. Finn is evidently the incarnation of the chief deity of the Gaels—the Jupiter spoken of by Cæsar and the Dagda of Irish myth. His qualities are king-like and majestic, not sun-like, as those of Cuchulain. He is surrounded by a band of heroes that make a terrestrial Olympus, composed of counterparts to the chief deities. There is the fiery Oscar (*ud-scar*, utter-cutter ?) a sort of war god ; Ossian, the poet and warrior, corresponding to Hercules Ogmius ; Diarmat, of the shining face, a reflection of the sun-god ; Caelte, the wind-swift runner ; and so on.

Arthur and his knights correspond generally to Finn and his heroic band ; Arthur's position in history and in popular tradition agrees with Finn's, and many incidents are the same in their lives—their birth and education in obscurity, like all heroes of fairy ore ; their recognition and advancement to the throne ; their kingly qualities and majestic wisdom ; their domestic life, the infidelity of their wives ; and so on. The heroes of each nation show also similarities, nor are even the names without a resemblance. Tal-

iesin, the bard, son of the mystic Gwion, may philologically correspond to *Ossian*, son of Finn, as Professor Rhys allows. The incidents of the Arthurian cycle sometimes correspond to the Cuchulain cycle of Ireland, as well as to the Fenian. Thus Peredur's ideal of a bride—raven-black hair and blood-red and snow-white cheeks—corresponds to the story of Deirdre and the sons of Uisneach.

A word or two may be said as to the local habitation of the heroic incidents. The Irish tales localise the events in Ireland, and point to places whose names are derived from the incidents of the tales. For example, the incidents of the killing of Diarmat by the boar are located in Sligo; but in Scotland the same story is fixed in no less than two places—Argyllshire and Sutherlandshire; Ben-Gulbain in Argyllshire, and Ben-Loyal in Sutherland have clear topographical traces of the story. And, again, the Arthurian incidents are confidently located by different theorists in Brittany, Wales, and Scotland. Mr. Stuart-Glennie has written a volume to prove that Scotland was the scene of Arthur's victories, and Mr. Skene supports him. No doubt the claims are all genuine; the story, in fact, is settled wherever a colony of the Welsh and the Gaels settled in a new country. The stories are racial and general, and can be tied down to neither time nor place. Every branch and colony can claim them as their own.



THE CONFLICTS OF THE CLANS.

(Continued.)

THE BURNING OF THE DORNOCH CATHEDRAL.

JOHN, EARL OF SUTHERLAND, together, with his lady, being poisoned, the year 1567, his son Alexander (being young) succeeded unto him, whose ward and marriage George Earl of Caithness had right to, and withal gets the custody of Earl Alexander during the time of his ward; whereat Alexander's most tender friends (and chiefly the Murrays of Sutherland) being grieved, they lay a plot among themselves to convey Earl Alexander from the Earl of Caithness; which they effect, and deliver him to the Earl of Huntly, with whom he staid until his ward was expired, the year 1573, during which time the Earl of Caithness kept possession of the land; whereupon divers troubles did ensue. The Earl of Caithness removed the Murrays of Sutherland from their possessions; which, nevertheless, they endeavoured to keep. Hutcheon Murray, with divers of his friends, do possess themselves with the town of Dornoch and the adjacent lands, being formerly possessed by them. The Earl of Caithness sent his son John, Master of Caithness, with a number of men to remove the Murrays from Dornoch. Y Mackay did also accompany the Master of Caithness in this journey. Being come to Dornoch, they besiege the Murrays there; who, for the space of some days, issued forth and skirmished with the enemy. In end, the Master of Caithness burnt the town and the cathedral church, which the inhabitants could not longer defend. Yet, after the town was lost, they kept the Castle, the enemy still assaulting them, but in vain, without any success, for the space of a month. Then, by the mediation of some indifferent friends, they surrendered the Castle, and gave three pledges that, within two months, they should depart from Sutherland; which they did, and retired themselves to the Earl of Huntly, with whom they staid until the expiring of the Earl Alexander's ward; at

which time they recovered their ancient possessions. Notwithstanding that the Murrays had retired themselves, as they had promised, yet they were no sooner departed, but the pledges were beheaded.

During the time that the Sutherland men staid with the Earl of Huntly, they served him in his wars against the Forbeses, and chiefly at Crabstaine, where they did good service against the foot supply that was sent by the Regent to assist the Forbeses. This burning of Dornoch and of the Cathedral Church happened in the year of God 1570. The next year following (which was 1571), George, Earl of Caithness, became jealous of some plots which his eldest son John, Master of Caithness, and Y Mackay of Strathnaver had contrived against him, and thereupon apprehended his son John, whom he imprisoned closely at Girnigo, where he died, after seven years' captivity. Y Mackay, perceiving that John, Master of Caithness, was imprisoned by his father, he retired home into Strathnaver, and died within six months thereafter, the same year of God 1571.

THE CONFLICTS OF ALLT-GAMHNA AND LECKMELM.

The year of God, 1585, George, Earl of Caithness, married the Earl of Huntly's sister; at which time, by Huntly's mediation, the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness were reconciled. It was then concluded among them that the Clan Gunn should be pursued and invaded by the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, because they were judged to be the chief authors of the troubles which were then like to ensue; and to this effect it was resolved that two companies of men should be sent by the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness against such of the Clan Gunn as dwelt in Caithness, thereby to compass them, that no place of retreat might be left unto them, which was done. The Earl of Sutherland's company was conducted by John Gordon of Backies and James MacRorie; the Earl of Caithness's company was conducted by his cousin, Henry Sinclair—a resolute gentleman. It happened that Henry Sinclair and his company rencountered first with the Clan Gunn, who were now assembled together at a hill called Bingrime, and with them was William Mackay (brother to Hugh Mackay of Strathnaver, and nephew to this Henry Sinclair, that led the

Caithness men) who was accompanied with some Strathnaver men. Now were the Clan Gunn advertised of this preparation made against them ; and no sooner were they in sight of one another but they prepared both for the fight, which was begun without fear or delay on either side. The Clan Gunn, although inferior in number, yet they had the advantage of the hill, by reason of which the Caithness men came short with their first flight of arrows ; by the contrary, the Clan Gunn spared their shot until they came hard by the enemy, which then they bestowed among them with great advantage. Then ensued a sharp conflict, at a place called Allt-gamhna, where Henry Sinclair was slain with 120 of his company, and the rest chased and put to flight, who had all been destroyed had not the darkness of the night favoured their flight. Which, coming to the ears of John Gordon, James MacRorie and Neil MacIan-MacWilliam, who had the conduct of the Earl of Sutherland's men, they pursued the Clan Gunn, and followed them to Lochbroom, in the height of Ross, whither they had fled ; and then, meeting with them, they invade them at a place called Leckmelm. After a sharp skirmish, the Clan Gunn were overthrown, and chased, 32 of them slain, and their Captain, George, wounded and taken prisoner, whom they carry along with them unto Dunrobin, and there they deliver him unto Alexander, Earl of Sutherland. This happened in the year of God, 1586.

TROUBLES IN THE WESTERN ISLES IN THE YEAR 1586.

This commotion in the Western Isles of Scotland did arise, at this time, betwixt the Clan-Donald and the Clan-Lean, upon this occasion. Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat, travelling from the Isle of Skye, to visit his cousin, Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, landed with his company on an island called Jura or Duray, which partly appertaineth to Maclean, partly to Angus Macdonald ; and by chance he landed in that part of the island which appertaineth to Maclean, being driven thither by contrary winds ; where, they were no sooner on shore, but two outlaws, Macdonald Herrach and Hutcheon Macgillespick (who were lately fallen out with Donald Gorme) arrived also with a company of men ; and understanding that Donald Gorme was there, they secretly took away, by night, a number of cattle out of that part

of the island which appertaineth to Maclean ; and so they retire again to the sea ; thereby thinking to raise a tumult against Donald Gorme, by making the Clan-Lean to believe that this was done by Donald Gorme's men, who, lying at a place called Inverknock-bhric, were suddenly invaded unawares, under silence of the night (neither suspecting nor expecting any such matter) by Sir Lauchlan Maclean and his kin, the Clan-Lean, who had assembled their whole forces against him. Maclean and his people killed, that night, above 60 of the Clan-Donald ; Donald Gorme himself, with the residue, escaped, by going to keep in a ship that lay in the harbour. Angus Macdonald of Kintyre hearing of this lamentable accident fallen out betwixt his brother-in-law, Maclean (whose sister he had married), and his cousin, Donald Gorme, he taketh journey into Skye to visit Donald Gorme, and to see by what means he could work a reconciliation betwixt him and Maclean for the slaughter of Donald Gorme's men at Inverknock-bhric. After Angus had remained a while in Skye with his cousin, he taketh journey homeward into Kintyre ; and in his return he landed in the Isle of Mull, and went to Duart (Maclean's chief dwelling-place in Mull) against the opinion of his two brothers, Coll and Ronald, and of his cousin, Ronald Macdonald, who all persuaded Angus to the contrary ; desiring him to send for Maclean, and so, to declare unto him how he had sped with his cousin, Donald Gorme, and how far he was inclined to a reconciliation ; but Angus trusted so much in his brother-in-law, Sir Lauchlan Maclean, that he would not hearken unto their counsel ; whereupon his two brothers left him, but his cousin, Ronald Macdonald, accompanied him to Duart, where Angus at first was welcomed with great show of kindness ; but he, with all his company, were taken prisoners by Sir Lauchlan Maclean, the next day after their arrival, Ronald Macdonald escaping, and that very hardly. Angus was then detained in captivity, until he did renounce his right and title to the Rhinns of Islay, which properly appertaineth to the Clan-Donald, and had been by them given in possession for their personal service. Angus was forced to yield, or there to end his days ; and for performance of what was desired, Angus gave his eldest son, James, and his brother,

Ronald, as pledges, to remain at Duart, until Maclean should get the title of the Rhinns of Islay made over to him ; and so, the pledges being delivered, Angus got his liberty.

Angus Macdonald, receiving the wrong at Maclean's hand, besides that which his cousin Donald Gorme had received at Inverknock-bhric, he went about, by all means, to revenge the same ; and the better to bring this purposed revenge to pass, he used a policy by a kind of invitation, which was thus : Maclean having got the two pledges into his possession, he taketh journey into Islay, to get the performance of what was promised unto him, leaving Ronald, one of the pledges, fettered in a prison at his house of Duart, in Mull, and carrying his nephew James (the son of Angus) and the other pledge along with him in his voyage. Being arrived in the Isle of Islay, he encamped at Ellan-loch-gorm, a ruinous fort lying upon the Rhinns of Islay. Thereupon Angus Macdonald took occasion to invite Maclean to come to Mullintrae, or Muludrhea (a dwelling place which Angus had well furnished in the Isle of Islay), seeing he was better provided of all kind of provision there than Maclean could be ; earnestly intreating him to lie at his house, where he should be as welcome as he could make him ; that they should make merry so long as his provision could last, and when that was done, he would go with him. For this custom the Islanders have, that when one is invited to another's house, they never depart so long as any provision doth last ; and when that is done they go to the next, and so from one to one, until they make a round from neighbour to neighbour, still carrying the master of the former family with them to the next house. Moreover, all the Islanders are of nature very suspicious, full of deceit and evil intention against their neighbours, by whatsoever way they may get them destroyed ; besides this, they are so cruel in taking revenge that neither have they regard to person, time, age, nor cause, as you may partly see in this particular. Sir Lachlan Maclean's answer to Angus Macdonald's messenger was that he durst not go to him, for mistrust. Angus then replied that he needed not to mistrust, seeing he had his son and his brothers pledges already, whom his friends might keep in their custody until his return ; and that, for his own part, he did intend nothing against him, but to continue in all

brotherly love and affection towards him. Maclean, hearing this, seemed to be void of all suspicion, and so resolves to go to Angus's house ; he carried with him James Macdonald, the pledge (his own nephew, and the son of Angus), whom he kept always in his custody, thereby to save himself from danger, if any injury should be offered unto him. He came to Mullintrea, accompanied with 86 of his kinsfolk and servants, in the month of July, 1586, where, at the first arrival, they were made welcome with all courtesy, and sumptuously banquetted all that day ; but Angus, in the meantime, had premonished all his friends and well-wishers within Islay to be at his house the same night at nine o'clock ; for he had concluded with himself to kill them all the very first night of their arrival, and still concealed his purpose, until he found the time commodious, and the place proper. So Maclean, being lodged with all his men in a long house that was somewhat distant from other houses, took to be with him his nephew James, the pledge before mentioned, with whom he never parted ; but within an hour thereafter, when Angus had assembled his men, to the number of 3 or 400, he placed them all in order about the house where Maclean then lay. Angus himself came and called upon Maclean at the door, offering him his reposing drink, which was forgotten to be given him before he went to bed. Maclean answered that he desired none for that time. Although, said Angus, it be so, yet it is my will that thou arise and come forth to receive it. Then began Maclean to suspect, and so did arise, with his nephew James betwixt his shoulders, thinking, that if present killing was intended against him, he would save himself as long as he could by the boy. The boy, seeing his father with a bare sword, and a number of his men in like manner about him, cried, with a loud voice, for mercy to his uncle, which was granted, and Maclean immediately removed to a secret chamber till the next morning. Then called Angus to the remnant within, so many as would have their own lives to be saved, that they should come forth (Macdonald Herrach, and another, whom he named, only excepted); obedience was made by all the rest, and these two only fearing the danger, refused to come forth ; which Angus perceiving, he commanded incontinent to put fire to the house ; which was done, so that the two men were pitifully burnt to

death. This Macdonald was the author of these troubles; the other was a very near kinsman to Maclean, and of the eldest of his surname, renowned both for counsel and manhood.

After that, the report of Maclean's taking came to the Isle of Mull, Allan Maclean, and some others of the Macleans, caused a rumour to be spread in Islay, that Ronald (the brother of Angus Macdonald, and the other pledge which he had given to Maclean) was slain at Duart, in Mull, by Maclean's friends; which false report was raised by Allan Maclean, that thereby Angus Macdonald might be moved to kill his prisoner, Sir Lauchlan Maclean, and so Allan himself might succeed to Sir Lauchlan; and, indeed, it wrought this effect, that how soon the report came to Angus's ears that his brother Ronald was slain, he revenged himself fully upon the prisoners; for Maclean's followers were by couples beheaded the days following, by Coll, the brother of Angus. The report of this fact at Mullintrae was carried to the Earl of Argyll, who immediately assembled his friends to get Maclean out of Angus's power; but, perceiving that they were not able to do it, either by force or fair means, they thought necessary to complain to the King. His Majesty directed charges to Angus, by a herald of arms, commanding him to restore Maclean into the hands of the Earl of Argyll; but the messenger was interrupted, and the haven port stopped, where he should have taken shipping towards Islay, and so he returned home; yet with exceeding travel made by Captain James Stewart, Chancellor of Scotland, and many straight conditions granted by Maclean to Angus, Maclean was at last exchanged for Ronald, the brother of Angus, and the pledge before mentioned; and for performance of such conditions as Maclean did promise to Angus, at his delivery, he gave his own son, and the son of Macleod of Harris, with divers other pledges to Angus Macdonald, who thereupon went into Ireland upon some occasion of business, which Maclean understanding, he invaded the Isle of Islay, and burnt a great part of the same, regarding neither the safety of the pledges, nor his faith given before the friends at his delivery. Angus Macdonald, returning out of Ireland, did not stir the pledges, who were innocent of what was done unto his lands in his absence; yet, with a great preparation of men and shipping, he went into the islands and Tiree apper-

taining to Maclean, invading these places with great hostility; where, what by fire, what by sword, and what by water, he destroyed all the men that he could overtake (none excepted), and all sorts of beasts that served for domestic use and pleasure of man; and, finally, came to the very Ben Mor, in Mull, and there killed and chased the Clan-Lean at his pleasure, and so fully revenged himself of his former injuries. Whilst Angus Macdonald was thus raging in Mull and Tiree, Sir Lauchlan Maclean went into Kintyre, spoiled, wasted, and burnt a great part of that country; and thus, for a while, they did continually vex one another with slaughters and outrages, to the destruction, well near, of all their country and people. In this meantime, Sir Lachlan Maclean did entice and train John MacIan, of Ardnamurchan (one of the Clan-Donald), to come unto him unto the Isle of Mull, promising him that he would give him his mother in marriage, unto whom the said John MacIan had been a suitor. John being come unto Mull, in hope of this marriage, Maclean yielded to his desire, thinking thereby to draw John MacIan unto his party against Angus Macdonald. The marriage was celebrated at Torloisk, in Mull; but the very same night John MacIan's chamber was forced, himself taken from his bed out of Maclean's mother's arms, and eighteen of his men slain, because he refused to assist Maclean against Angus Macdonald. These were (and are to this day) called, in a proverb, Maclean's nuptials. John MacIan was detained a whole year in captivity by Maclean; and, at last, was released, in exchange of Maclean's son and the rest of the pledges which Angus Macdonald had in his hands. These two islanders, Angus Macdonald and Maclean, were afterwards written for by the King, and trained unto Edinburgh, the year of God, 1591, with promise safely to pass and repass unhurt or molested in their bodies or goods, and were committed both to ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, where they remained not long when they were remitted free, to pass home again, for a pecunial fine, and a remission granted to either of them. Their eldest sons were left as pledges for their obedience in time coming.

(To be continued.)

THE STATE OF THE HIGHLANDS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

I.

WE have recently been perusing a most interesting book, published in 1787, being "A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebride Isles, in 1786," by John Knox, and containing many facts of no little interest at the present day. He not only gives many of his own experiences, but makes interesting quotations from others who had preceded him over the same ground. Pythias, our author informs us, had made a voyage to Thule, the remotest island belonging to Britain, which he describes as being "at the distance of six days' sailing from it, in the skirts of the Frozen Ocean." It was a place, according to him, which was neither earth, sea, nor air, but something like a composition of all of them, something resembling, to use his own expression, "the lungs of the sea." The same author describes the climate of the Hebrides, at that early period, pretty much in the same language in which it might be accurately described in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but he informs us that "the natives are obliged to carry their corn under shelter, to beat the grain out, lest it should be spoiled by the want of sunshine, and violence of the rains."

In a description of Iona, Mr. Knox tells us that it had been famous for its library, containing the archives and histories of the kingdom, with many other manuscripts which were then dispersed and lost. Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards became Pope Pius II., intended, during a visit to Scotland, to have gone to Iona to search for the lost books of Livy, but was prevented by the death of the King. A small parcel of books from this library was brought to Aberdeen in 1524, and great pains were taken to unfold them, but in consequence of their great age, and the tenderness of the parchment, scarcely any portion of them could be

read. The best authorities, however, from what they were able to make out, thought that the work was rather a fragment of Sallust than of Livy.

The register and records of the island were all destroyed at the Reformation. Iona was the burial-place "of forty-eight kings of Scotland, eight of Norway, four of Ireland, besides the chieftains of the Highland and Hebridean Clans, some of whose effigies still remain on the spot; many have been destroyed, and others have been purloined for other church-yards in the Highlands." The writer says that he had seen several of these effigies, as well as some of the stone crosses that had been taken away from the island. One of the crosses, he informs us, stood in the centre of the town of Campbeltown, "a beautiful pillar, ornamented with foliage." The effigies had been carried mostly to Argyleshire, where they were laid over the graves of the principal inhabitants. Several were at that time to be seen at Kilmartin, where the people could actually give the names of the persons on whose graves they were originally placed in Iona.

Writing of the Highlanders of his own time, Mr. Knox says that they are "the lineal, unmixed descendants of these heroes, poets, and bards, who, through a long succession of ages, have preserved the Celtic language in its ancient purity; who still retain, in a considerable degree, the simple manners and customs of their ancestors; and who are less tinctured with the vices of modern times than those that bestow upon them the epithet of barbarous." Mr. Knox, in 1764, made his first tour to the Highlands, and he states that the extreme poverty, idleness, and distress of the people made an impression on his mind which engaged his thoughts, much of his time, and afterwards cost him several thousand pounds in various efforts to ameliorate the state of the people. His great object was to start what has since become so well known as the British Fisheries' Society.

He afterwards visited the Highlands no less than sixteen times in twenty-three years, and at first he made it a point to enquire into the most effectual means of employing the inhabitants, "and of preventing emigration, which at that time prevailed greatly;" and he says that there was in the country then a population of 300,000 people and upwards, "many of whom had

nothing more than a bare existence, and even that upon the most precarious tenure." He made an attempt to enlist the aid of the Highland Society of London, which had been established several years before this, in his work in the Highlands, in which he was afterwards to some extent successful. His description of the Highland Society at the time is worth reproducing. "It was," he says, "partly a convivial club, who met to enjoy themselves according to the customs of their country, to hear the bagpipe, drink whisky out of the clam-shell, etc.; and, partly, an institution for the encouragement of collections and publications in their native tongue and of their native music, and similar objects."

On the 29th of June, 1768, he started from London on a remarkable tour, which he completed, mostly on foot, in the space of six months from the time he left. The tour was from Oban to Cape Wrath, from thence along the shore of the Pentland Firth to Duncansbay Head, in Caithness, then along the East Coast of that County, Sutherland, and Ross-shire, to the Town of Inverness, continuing along the coast of the Moray Firth to Kinnaird Head, Peterhead, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the whole distance exceeding over 3000 miles. In the course of this tour he also visited some of the Western Isles. Of this tour he wrote a journal, the first portion of which, dealing with the part of the country from Oban to Cape Wrath, including the Western Isles, was published shortly after his return to Edinburgh. From it we shall give a few interesting extracts in these papers. Meantime, we shall cull a few from some other documents which are published in the book.

In his appeal to the proprietors of lands along the Highland coasts, after stating several things which they ought to do, he says:—"By thus blending private benefit with the general good, the names of such proprietors, who shall, with a liberal hand, come forward, and at an early period, will be engraved upon every Highland rock, and be recorded with applause to the end of time. But something further remains on the part of the gentlemen of the Highlands towards the success of the various branches which constitute this great design. The servitude required by proprietors, tacksmen, and some factors, amounts, according to

ancient usage, to forty-two days every year, and these the most favourable for ploughing, sowing, digging peats, leading them home, cutting down and leading home the grain. While the poor men and their families are thus employed upon the business of their superiors, and for which they receive neither money nor provisions, their own affairs are neglected, and their little crops rot upon the ground ; yet the rent must be paid, or they must turn out to make room for others."

After describing the nature of the tenure, which was generally from year to year ; the custom of paying a large *grassum* on the renewal of a lease, when such was granted, and the difficulties of raising this money, he proceeds to point out that none of those things were so unfavourable to the population as the then " newly devised custom of ejecting fifty or a hundred families at a time, to make room for a stock of sheep, which can be managed by one family, and, in some places, by a servant or herd only. This practice, with the religious commotions of the last century, nearly depopulated the South of Scotland, from whence, it is said, 7000 families transported themselves to the North of Ireland, America, and other parts." He then proceeds to show what was actually being done then in the Highlands.—

In the month of June, 1786, 550 persons embarked in one ship for America, and of these, 500 were from one estate. He says that the parting scene between the emigrants and those they left behind them was " too moving for human nature to behold." He and others estimated that, since 1763, no less than 50,000 people had left the Highlands, and of these, about 30,000 went to America. He points out the difficulty of improving the circumstances of the people. The landlords might abolish servitude, and many other customs which he condemned ; they might extend the length of their leases, and otherwise encourage the industrious ; " but they must be more than human to resist invariably the tempting offers that are constantly made by sheep farmers. . . . One man will occupy the land that starved fifty or more families ; he gives a double or treble rent, and is punctual to the day of payment ; consequently numbers of ejected poor people are continually on the wing for America."

Mr. Knox, while pointing out the great difficulties there were

in building good houses in the Highlands at the time of his visit, informs us that, within a few years, the ordinary wages of masons and house carpenters had been six shillings per week, but, such was the improvement in the building trade in the principal towns of Scotland, that the wages, in 1786, jumped up and ranged from about nine to twelve shillings a week, and he considers it quite remarkable that, even at such wages, there was a scarcity of workmen. He further says that "this great augmentation is partly owing to the great rise in the price of provisions within these last thirty years, of which I shall give an instance from Glasgow and other trading towns in that part of the kingdom :—

"Thirty Years Ago (1756.) In the Spring of 1786.

	D.	S. D.
"Beef, Veal, Mutton, per lb. ...	4	0 11
"Butter	4	0 11
"Salmon	1½	0 8
"Eggs, per doz.	1½	0 7
"Meal, per peck	7	1 1"

The following reference to the origin of the now beautiful and enterprising town of Oban will prove interesting to many. Mr. Knox says, "One of the proprietors of the coast of Oban, in Argyleshire, has brought together on that spot about twenty-six families, who built their own houses upon a very moderate plan, and through whose exertions great things were expected ; but the people still remain in much the same situation as formerly, with the additional circumstance against them of having exhausted their little property, or a considerable part of it, in mere dwellings only."

Some very remarkable restrictions were at that time placed upon the West Highland fishermen. Such as, for instance, busses or large boats, coming from other places to purchase herring, were prohibited from buying the fish from the natives. These busses received bounties from Government, and, to secure it, it was enacted that they should continue fishing for a period of not less than three months from the date of their departure from their own ports, unless they should have sooner completed their load of fish, all of which must be caught by their own men. "In the meantime," our author continues, "the poor natives, thus deprived of their natural right (of selling their fish), and without redress,

remained, as they still do, a miserable, helpless burden upon the proprietors whose lands they occupied. A petty fishery for the support of their own families, or their neighbourhood, in fresh herrings, were the only benefits which they could derive from the riches that came periodically upon their shores"; and he then informs us of a great measure of relief, which, by a Statute passed in 1785, permitted these strange and subsidised fishermen to purchase herring from the Highlanders, provided that, at the expiration of three months, they had not themselves fished their full cargo. One can scarcely believe that such foolish laws were in force in this country within the last hundred years.

At this time two traders in white and red herrings had settled at Lochbroom, and they purchased all the fish that the native boats could take, in its fresh state, at five shillings or upwards per cran. This figure our author considered an extraordinary one, for he says, "Let traders be encouraged to settle on all the fishing stations of the coast, and the same *high* prices will be given; but care should be taken to keep the boat people independent of the traders, otherwise it may happen that the latter will lay exorbitant prices upon the articles which the natives stand in need of, and cannot purchase elsewhere." It is curious to find that, at this period, in the whole district from Belfast Loch to Cape Wrath; from thence to Duncansbay Head in Caithness; and from there to Cromarty, in the Moray Frith; there were no towns, dockyards, or even a carpenter to be found to execute any repairs upon the boats or their gear. A coast of nearly 500 miles, we are told, could not, upon any sudden emergency, furnish a single sail, a cable, or an anchor.

Mr. Knox strongly urges that roads and bridges should be constructed in the Highlands, whereat, he says, the Highlanders would be glad to work as labourers *at seven or eightpence per day*. He then refers at considerable length to the salt duties which were exacted at the time, and from which an annual sum of £900,000 was raised. In 1776 the gross revenue was £895,489, and of this £649,275 went in the way of drawbacks, discounts, charges of management, etc., leaving a nett sum of only £246,214 as the amount which went to the Exchequer. The result of this tax was the entire crippling, if not prohibition, of the herring and

other fishings in the Highlands, and, "having no towns or stores where this article can be retailed out at a moderate price, these poor people are forced to live through the winter and spring upon half-putrefied fish that have been dried without salt, the bad effects of which are severely felt by thousands in that miserable country. From the want of this article they cannot even supply themselves in the proper season with butter and cheese, and are therefore obliged very frequently to bring up more young cattle, by means of the milk in summer, than they can support in the winter." The duty on coal at the same period was 5s. 4d. per chaldron, and the Customs regulations were such as to make it almost impossible to get any to the Highlands on any condition. And only the miserable sum of £1100 was realised from this coal tax, though its exaction almost entirely stopped any paying enterprise on the part of the people.

It appears that the landlords of that time appropriated to themselves everything they could, as they are charged with doing before, since, and now. Referring to the religious frenzy of the people, after the death of James V., our author says that, in less than thirty years, all the national exertions in literature, civilisation, arts, agriculture, and commerce, vanished. The noble edifices, which it had taken five centuries to erect, were razed to the ground or laid in ruins within the space of a few years; and, then, we are told, "the nobility and great landholders encouraged these desolating scenes, or remained passive, while the outrageous humours of the preachers and people were venting themselves. They had an eye to the Church revenues, which they seized, and confirmed to their families in a Parliament of which they were themselves the members. The preachers, instead of sharing in the Church livings, as they had expected, were not even allowed to taste of the crumbs which these livings afforded. They now railed against the nobility and gentry, who, nevertheless, kept possession of the revenues, which their descendants enjoy to the present day." After impoverishing the Church and the clergy, who, we are told, were without stipends or salaries, in this way, this Parliament of landlords, who had appropriated the whole lands and revenues of the Church to themselves, "did, in the munificence of their hearts, from a zeal for the Protestant religion,

and in pity to the clergy, enact that every Established minister of a parish should receive from their respective parishioners, as a maintenance for their families, and to enable them to perform the duties of their ministry with comfort and ease, a sum equal to *five pounds* sterling annually!" From the rise of the price of grain or meal, these livings several years after rose in Scotland to an average of about £80 per annum for about nine hundred clergymen, the whole annual revenue of the Scottish Established clergy, when our author wrote, being only about £72,000. In the Highlands, however, the stipends did not exceed £50 on an average, and of such livings the number was very few.

In another paper or two we shall accompany our author in his tour through the Highlands of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland shires, including the Western Isles. A.M.

(To be continued.)

DEATH OF "THE HIGHLAND MAGAZINE."—Nine months ago, a monthly periodical, under this title, was started by Mr. Duncan Cameron, Oban. In the October (the eighth) number, an intimation is given that the magazine is no more. We were to have been swallowed up by the *Highland Magazine*. That was not our opinion, and we were not in the slightest degree concerned on the point. This, we regret to say, is the ninth Celtic publication which came and went since we made our first appearance ten years ago, but we are still to the fore, and in a better position than we have ever before attained to. We had not noticed the *Highland Magazine* in these pages hitherto, simply because it was never sent to us for that purpose. Some of the reviewers praised it without stint. Most of them were, to our great amusement, completely sat upon. The serial tale, entitled "The Empty Coffin," was almost universally criticised in the most favourable terms, as an excellently-written *original* tale. We knew better, but while the periodical had any chance of life we felt unwilling, even in the interest of literary honesty, to point out the fraud which was being perpetrated on the public by the editor of the *Highland Magazine* and his reviewers. We have a copy of the original work in our possession, published in three volumes, and entitled "A Legend of Argyle; or, 'Tis a Hundred Years Since," printed for G. & W. Whittaker, Ave-Marie Lane, London, in 1821. The title was changed in the *Highland Magazine* to "The Empty Coffin," and the first three or four chapters transposed, and otherwise transmogrified, so as to put the reader and reviewers off the scent; otherwise, the tale was reprinted, with all its errors, mis-spellings of Gaelic, and other characteristics. Some of the cleverest and best informed of the reviewers who belauded this *original* and insipid old tale as a splendid modern production, carped at us, while they praised this fraud, for reproducing valuable historical and antiquarian information, which was quite inaccessible to the ordinary reader, the source of which we always duly acknowledged!

INVERNESS GAELIC SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.

FEW societies have done more, or more useful work, in the field of Gaelic and Celtic literature than the Gaelic Society of Inverness. We have before us the eleventh volume of its Transactions, which has quite recently been published. To say that it is the Society's largest volume were not in itself much, but to say that it is out of sight the best and most valuable volume yet issued by the Society is saying a great deal. A glance even at its contents page will suffice to whet the appetite of any Highlander or other student having a desire or aptitude for Celtic or Gaelic study. A perusal of the articles themselves will satisfy any reader that the importance of the volume has not been over-estimated in our opening commendation. It is not our intention to enter into a detailed criticism of the various articles which the volume embraces; it must suffice if little more is done than the mere naming of the most valuable of them, and we recommend the reader not only to read the Transactions for himself, but to become a member of the Society, and thus place himself in contact with such wholesome and patriotic influences as emanate from it. In point of intrinsic value, we must award the palm to the contributions from the pen of Mr. Macbain, Rector of Raining's School, Inverness, whose papers on a subject somewhat cognate with those treated of in the volume before us, have, during the past year or two, enriched the pages of this magazine. Mr. Macbain's first paper is on so-called "Druid Circles." The article is replete with interest, and is the result of most conscientious investigation alike of the available literature on the subject, a comparison of the remains with those met with in other countries, and a minute inspection of many of the circles so numerous in this country itself. To enhance the value of the paper, it is very effectively illustrated with sketches of antiquarian remains, kindly prepared by Mr. P. H. Smart, drawing

master, Inverness. This is a feature which greatly increases the other attractions of the volume. Mr. Macbain's conclusion regarding the circles in question is that whatever their origin and purpose they are not "Druidic." "One thing" he says, "is to be noted : popular tradition knows nothing of the Druids in connection with these circles. The nearest approach to the Druidic theory is where in one case the popular myth regards the stones as men transformed by the magic of the Druids. In fact, there is no rational tradition in regard to them. *They belong to a period to which the oldest tradition or history of the present race cannot reach.*" Proceeding next to discuss the question what these remains really were, Mr. Macbain comes, at the close, to be of the following opinion :—"Our positive results are that the stone circles were built by prehistoric races—in this country probably by the Picts—that they are connected with burial, though built independent of mounds and other forms of tomb ; that they are also connected with ancestor worship, and that the whole difficulty resolves itself into the question of why they are of circular form, and why the stones are set at intervals."

This paper is followed immediately by another from the same hand on the "Ancient Celts," and in point of historical and philological importance it is sure to hold a high place in the estimation of Celtic scholars.

It is not often that after-dinner oratory is considered worthy of permanent preservation, but the proceedings of the thirteenth annual dinner, and specially the speech of the Chairman, Lochiel, will be read with warmest interest in connection with the social revolution which has occasioned them. The speech was delivered on the evening before the Landlord Conference, Confession, and Capitulation at Inverness, and may be said to have been a foreshadowing of what was done at that Conference. Then follows another paper on the "Book of Deer," by Mr. Macbain. We cannot speak in terms too high of the philological merits of this article. The vocabulary alone which accompanies it is simply invaluable, and evinces an immense amount of diligent study and careful observation. Other papers of great interest are that on "MacMhaighstir Alasdair," by Mr. William Mackay; "The Gaelic Names of Birds," by Mr.

Charles Fergusson; "Ministers of Tongue, 1726-63," by Mr. Hew Morrison; and one of special importance and linguistic interest, by Professor Mackinnon, on the "Fernaig Manuscript." Besides these, there are minor contributions on such subjects as Celtic Topography, The Social Condition of the Highlands, Sir Robert Munro, Old Contracts of Friendship, Old Gaelic Songs, The Educational Power of Gaelic Poetry, Celtic Poetry, Mackintosh's Cairn in Glen Tilt, The Characteristic and Social History of the Gael, and Letters of Simon Lord Lovat, 1739-43. The merit and interest of these papers are guaranteed by the fact that they are from the pen of men who are not only genuine Gaels, but who have, by special study in the various departments of Celtic history, lore, and antiquarian research, made themselves masters of the subject.

Doubtless, Inverness is regarded as the Capital of the Highlands, and is naturally a centre of Celtic influence, and within easy reach of ample materials of Celtic study, but we see no good reason why other places of even much less pretension might not have their Gaelic Societies doing similar work to that so admirably done by the Gaelic Society of Inverness.

We again strongly commend this volume, and trust we may accept it as only the first fruits of a great harvest of Highland literature; for even yet there is a vast field to reap, and the winter is fast approaching, but, alas! we fear "the labourers are few."

